CHANGES IN NON-WHITE OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, SMSA, 1966-1970

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the Reconstruction era and subsequently throughout the period when legal segregation of blacks and whites was permissible, racist subterfuges were developed to limit the opportunities of black workers to jobs often in menial and service-type occupations. White workers on the other hand, retained their full rights as citizens and had preferential opportunities to obtain the best jobs available.

These discriminatory practices have continued to the present time, even though numerous efforts have been made, through social and economic legislation, to correct these deficiencies and deprivations.

Sociologists, economists, and the Federal Government, through the courts, have helped to increase the range of opportunities open to black citizens in this country. Such measures were taken at the insistence and urging of civil rights organizations, who sought relief from discriminatory practices.

In recent years action has been taken to augment the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 through 1964, which presumably will raise the black man's economic status.

Herman P. Miller states that statistics for the United States show that, since the depression of the thirties, the increase in average and total income has been widespread throughout the population and has resulted in a general movement of families up the income scale. While Miller allowed for the exceptions such as the aged, uneducated, and

unskilled, he cites the picture during postwar years as being one of gradually rising family incomes, due not only to the full-time employment of chief bread-winners, but also to the rising tendency for wives to supplement family income.[1]

During the last five year period, implementation of the Civil Rights Acts has produced a climate which portray rising family incomes.

The black protest movement created an atmosphere which forced action and identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress.

Some authorities proclaim that there is evidence that industry was on the march to take advantage of the black potential even before the Civil Rights Act made discrimination illegal.

In 1964 Mahlon Puryear, then Associate Director, Job Development and Employment of the National Urban League, summarized the black progress in a speech at a labor relations conference at the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Puryear said:

> The period since 1961, then, represents the era of greatest progress in providing job opportunities for minority groups. While state and local groups were retooling, improving techniques and methods for dealing with minority group employment programs and problems, business, industry and our national government were taking the lead. What you have done has had telling results in a number of ways: (1) There is now closer cooperation between those who seek workers and those who offer responsible leadership, guidance and assistance to employers; (2) You are now identified with and actively participating in programs designed to narrow the gap which has so long existed between Negroes and other citizens; (3) You have increased your support of agencies and institutions having major responsibility for the preparations of new

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[1] Herman P. Miller, Rich Man Poor Man (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), p. 28.

> generations of Negro Americans; (4) You have increased the number of Negroes now employed in supervisory and first-level management positions in business and industry; (5) You have increased your recruiting on campuses whose student bodies are predominately Negro; (6) You have initiated and expanded summer and part-time work experiences for Negro teachers; (7) You have expanded summer employment opportunities for Negro and high school students... and (8) You have expanded opportunities to learn and work in major educational settings.[1]

Many blacks are in accord with Mr. Puryear's belief that American industry has made tremendous strides in its acceptance of Negro employees during the past decade.

However, if such progress was evident, as expressed by Mr. Puryear in 1964, it should be interesting to take a look at the occupational pattern today. Since as late as 1962, reportedly over 70 per cent of the black labor force occupied positions in the blue-collar and service occupations.[2]

Therefore, a study will be made in the Atlanta Standard Metropolitan Statistical area to determine whether local firms have opened up a significant number of white-collar positions to blacks.

Background Information.-- The black man's plight has been disregarded by the American white man from Emancipation until very recent years. Most of the slaves were not granted their freedom until the end of the war in 1865. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 only applied to those areas of the South under Union control, which was rather

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1 Mahlon Puryear, "Progress in Employment," in Jerome H. Holland, Black Opportunity (New York: Weybright and Talley, Inc., 1969), p. 105.

2 Sidney M. Peck, "The Economic Situation of Negro Labor," in The Negro and the American Labor Movement, ed. by Julius Jacobson (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1968), p. 213.

limited at that time. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, thought so little of the Proclamation that he issued his own, which stated that all black people in all northern states were to be considered slaves.

However, the slaves, knew nothing of the legal subtleties involved in presidential proclamations. And, as soon as they heard a rumor that they were declared free, no further confirmation was needed. Whether their owners liked it or not they freed themselves.[1]

In North and South alike, the Negro has been relegated to the fringe of American life. He was treated subhuman by the white mythology which meant that economically he only enjoyed crumbs from the bountiful American table.

> Some very strong words were uttered in a speech to the United States Senate in 1890 by J. J. Ingalls: "The race to which we belong is the most arrogant and rapacious, the most exclusive and indomitable in history. It is the conquering and the unconquerable race, through which alone man has taken possession of the physical and moral world. All other races have been its enemies or its victims." Seventy-four years later, watching the lengthening record of Western Civilization's works, Gerald W. Johnson could write that of all the creatures to appear on this earth, the white man is the fiercest by far.[2]

According to Abram L. Harris, an economist, Negro achievement and enterprise in the economic sphere has been hampered by low wages, occupational restrictions, difficulties in securing credit, proscriptions against owning certain types of property, a lack of educational

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1 Julius Lester, To Be A Slave (New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1968), p. 133.

2 Frank H. Tucker, The White Conscience (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), p. 3.

and cultural opportunities and a general reluctance on the part of the larger segment of society to help promote the economic progress of the Negro. However, the historical records are replete with the names of individual Negro entreprenuers whose achievements were remarkable despite such handicaps.

In 1863, the wealth of free Negroes in the South was valued at $25,000,000.[1] However, enough money has yet to be earned by enough Negroes to over-come their economic plight. Negroes know this and are demanding that economic differences between Negroes and whites be eliminated. "The Negro demand for economic equality is no longer, as Nathan Glazer points out, simply a demand for equal opportunity; it is a demand for equality of economic results."[2]

The history of the Negro in American industry is as old as America's economic life. Plantations of the old South were totally dependent upon slave labor.

> In 1880 some 75 percent of the Negroes in the United States were still in the former Confederate states and were primarily engaged in Agricultural work. Most of them were without capital with which to purchase land and were compelled to engage in various forms of tenancy and share-cropping. As farm workers their incomes were meager. In 1902 farm laborers in South Carolina were receiving ten dollars per month, while those of New York were receiving twenty-six dollars per month.[3]

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[1] Russell L. Adams, Great Negroes Past and Present (Chicago, Illinois: Afro-Am Publishing Company, 1963), p. 64.

[2] Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, ed., The Negro American (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1966), p. 438.

[3] John P. Davis, ed., The American Negro Reference Book (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1966), pp. 65-79.

Throughout the century since 1863, blacks leaving agriculture or domestic service have first gone into unskilled, often heavy jobs. In the period after 1890, many men went into saw and planing mills, mining, or transportation jobs. The history of Negro occupations shows the shift of men from farming and of women from farm and domestic work. The shift has accelerated in this century, but it was slow at first.

In urban centers of the South, Negroes were the traditional servants and casual laborers. In heavy, dirty steel, tobacco processing, and fertilizer, the southern Negro has a long and successful history.

It is in the construction industry that the black worker has his firmest traditions as an artisan, for he has a long but little-known past as a skilled mechanic in construction. 'Much of the historically important architecture of the old South- the ironwork in the Old French section of New Orleans, the fine old residences of Charleston, the impressive buildings throughout the rural South which symbolize the plantation system -- stands as a monument to the dexterity which the Negro slave quickly developed in the building trades."[1] Many of the early craft unions of the old South were organized by black mechanics.

But with the economic reconstruction of the South a distinct decline in the proportion of black workers ensued. Operations formerly performed by carpenters were modified by new materials and large-scale construction. Skills which were known to the Negro carpenter were supplanted by new methods employed in large-scale construction. At the same time, there was a great demand for steamfitting, plumbing, and

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[1] Robert C. Weaver, Negro Labor (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946), p. 5.

electrical work. However, these trades were foreign to black men. They were never taught to the Negro slave, and the free Negro rarely had an opportunity to learn them. Despite his early start in home construction, the black artisan, knew only the skills of small-scale building. He continued to work in those operations until the white artisan, who entered numerous occupations in the building industry with the advent of large-scale building, used his political power and bigoted unionism to capture all operations. Which meant a displacement of Negro carpenters and monopoly of the mechanical building trades by white workers who were newcomers into the older building trades which were previously dominated by Negroes in the South.

The restricted system of the region was closely adhered to by outside capital which promoted the South's industrialization. Occupational patterns evolved in accord with this accepted and basic principle: light, clean, well-paid jobs for whites and heavy, dirty, lower paid jobs for Negroes. It was assumed that most blacks had weak minds, so the prime requirement for black employees was that they have strong backs. Therefore, numerous jobs in iron and steel where the operations were hot and heavy were available to black workers. However, the higher paid skilled jobs (even if they were both hot and heavy) were exclusively for the white worker. So as not to deviate from the color-caste system management, in the textile industry, developed an entirely different pattern. Comparatively the textile industry was light and clean which symbolized the rise of the factory system in the South; naturally blacks were assigned to unskilled work and outside cleaning. And, the operation of machinery in such an industry became earmarked

white only. An intermediate color occupational pattern developed in tobacco production. Generally, blacks and whites were assigned to machine operations. But blacks on machines were concentrated in the stemming department where there were dust hazards and lower rates of pay, and they were in unskilled jobs. So the departure from the system in tobacco processing can be described as superficial.

In the North, where the black population in most industrial centers was rather small, a similar racial occupational pattern evolved. Blacks were usually employed as servants, porters, and janitors. In numerous cities, the black population consisted of those who had come with railroads and were employed as Pullman porters and dining-car waiters. Then, as labor disputes developed, blacks were often imported to break strikes and weaken labor organizations. It was through strike breaking that the first black workers got into the northern branches of iron and steal, meat-packing, and other heavy industry.

World War I brought cessation of foreign immigration and, at the same time, a rapidly rising demand for industrial workers. There had been little immigration in the South, but blacks had been denied factory operative jobs. With the war these jobs were made available to blacks to some extent. Meanwhile, the first big movement, of blacks, to the North was under way.

> There the use of Negroes as machine operatives was regarded at first as an experiment; by the end of another decade, it had become a commonplace. Business and other opportunities expanded in the North also.
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> Most Negroes, however, went into lower paid work requiring little or no skill or experience. Men became unskilled or semiskilled operatives in steel mills, automobile plants, foundries, and packing houses. Many took road or other construction jobs. Women found work as waitresses or

> in laundries; many entered the food industries or the needle trades, and some women became teachers or nurses.[1]

The 1910 to 1930 shifts produced a rapid rise in the proportion of blacks in the white-collar group--professionals, proprietors, officials, and clerks. The percentage of skilled and semiskilled workers also increased.

> World War II brought further sharp changes, as many more Negroes left the farms for munitions and other factory work. The number of Negro skilled and semiskilled men doubled during the war years. Women in large numbers shifted from farms and domestic service to other types of personal services, to factories, and to clerical jobs. A considerable upgrading took place into more skilled, higher paid work and the professions. The postwar years showed continued advances in most regards. From 60 per cent in 1930, the proportion of Negro men in unskilled or service jobs, including farm labor, was reduced by 1960 to 40 per cent. For women, the reduction was from 80 per cent to less than 60 per cent.
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> Despite advances, however, proportionately fewer nonwhites than whites in 1960 were in the professional, managerial, other white collar or skilled groups.[2]

"Throughout the South, Negroes as a general rule are relegated to positions in the lower rungs of the job hierachy. Discrimination plays a major role in influencing this pattern. One study of 108 establishments in the upper South, chiefly within the tobacco and textile industries, showed the existence of 105,000 jobs of which 17,000 were filled by Negroes. In these plants Negroes were totally excluded from white-collar employment in white-managed firms and had scarcely a toe hold in supervisory jobs."[3]

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[1] Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller., ed., Negroes and Jobs (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 61.

[2] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[3] James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations II (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1963), p. 230.

Over the years numerous protests have been made and numerous organizations have been founded in an effort to improve the economic and social plight of the American Negro. Needless to say that there has been no earth-shaking change in the occupational structure of the Negro labor force, or other areas.

According to Vander Zanden the relationships between blacks and whites in the South are governed by what some have called the "etiquette of race relations." However, the word discrimination, which entails overt action in which members of a group are accorded unfavorable treatment on the basis of their religious, ethnic, or racial background may be used. This pattern of discrimination or

> racial etiquette involves pertaining to such forms of behavior as handshaking, the lifting of the hat, the use of front and rear entrances of homes, the employment of social forms and titles when meeting on the street and at work, etc.
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> The social worlds of the two races are separate and distinct. Many ordinary courtesies, dining together, fraternizing, and other semi-social acts of friendliness and informal social intercourse are not extended by whites to Negroes. Such behavior is interpreted by whites as "social equality" and is severly frowned upon. Visiting and entertaining do not take place across the color line. With but rare exceptions church memberships, cliques, and voluntary associations do not cross racial lines.[1]

However, in recent years the Negro's life circumstances have operated to reduce his exposure to the Southern value system. It is interesting to note that in an opinion poll on civil rights issues, when the question was asked whether things were improving more rapidly in the North or in the South, the majority of those who felt that a difference existed chose the South. "Southern Negroes were considerably

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[1] Ibid., p. 232.

more likely to say the South rather than the North, but even Northern Negroes tended to choose the South over the North. Despite differences between the deep South, where Birmingham is located, and the relatively more progressive upper South, of which Atlanta is a part, there is little difference in responses from Birmingham and Atlanta."[1]

The phrase "recent years" quite accurately describes the time element involved when referring to the reduction of the Negro's exposure to the Southern value system. As recent as the early sixties Paul Nogren and Samuel Hill with the assistance of F. Ray Marshall in their book entitled Toward Fair Employment describes the occupational patterns of the South, as typified by Atlanta. They reported that racial employment patterns in Atlanta in the winter of 1962, revealed that Negroes were still almost completely excluded from any but traditionally "Negro jobs" in Southern cities.[2]

It was cited that an automobile assembly plant in the Atlanta metropolitan area employed 1,700 to 1,800 persons, of whom about seventy were Negroes. Eight Negroes were assigned to the assembly line, four were placed on the line in October, 1961, and four in January, 1962. The remaining Negro employees served in the traditional "Negro jobs" as janitors, sweepers, truck drivers, and power sweepers. Needless to say that no Negroes were employed in white-collar occupations.

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1 Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967), p. 7.

2 Samuel E. Hill, F. Ray Marshall, and Paul H. Norgren, Toward Fair Employment (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 23.

They reported that automotive and farm equipment plants in the Atlanta area presented a similar pattern of Negro employment in traditional jobs, with a few token placements of very recent date in production work.

One encouraging factor related by the authors was that several Atlanta firms had changed departmental to plant-wide seniority arrangements, making it possible for Negroes to secure promotion more readily under such arrangements than under the departmental arrangements previously in effect. In exploring the operations of a steel mill in the city which employed approximately 1,250 persons, of whom about one-third were Negro, it was determined that there were thirty-two job classes in the plant with pay rates ranging from $2.02 to $4.12 per hour. As usual the Negro was lagging behind in the lower job classes. The highest rank job held by a Negro was Class 11, which paid $2.65 per hour. A Union representative was quoted as saying that "no really skilled jobs" were held by Negroes. A labor agreement which was concluded in 1961, afforded Negroes the opportunity to bid for jobs throughout the plant. Seniority was based on occupational and departmental lines of progression, with the possibility of being calculated on a plant-wide basis, under unspecified circumstances. Prior to this agreement Negroes were virtually limited to particular lines of progression which barred them from skilled occupations.

There were few departures from the Southern labor practices in the construction industry. Atlanta had approximately 1,800 carpenters in separate black and white local unions. Reportedly, the Negro local informed the area office of the Bureau of Labor and Management Reports

of the U. S. Department of Labor, that the white local bargained for their local, which had a membership of seventeen. This small number indicates that few Negroes belonged to the union. The 1960 Census reports accounted for 350 black carpenters in the Atlanta area.

Similar Southern practices prevailed among the electricians, plumbers, sheet metal workers, operating engineers, and ironworkers. However, Negroes were well represented in trucking, warehouse, and lumberyard jobs. It was noticeable that Negroes in Atlanta, as elsewhere in the South, penetrated in truck-driving and in automobile maintenance and repair. One explanation given was that perhaps the nature of the work permitted persons so employed to accommodate themselves to the accepted employment practices of the segregated South. Few Negroes were serving Atlanta as milk delivery men, beer and soft drink drivers, and those few served Negro customers only. Negroes were just breaking into the local transit system, with two on the job and two in training.

Out of an employment population of between 4,000 and 5,000 persons, the Atlanta telecommunications company had one Negro auto mechanic and one Negro house mechanic. All other Negroes in the employment of the company were engaged in custodial or culinary occupations. One or two Negroes were in jobs other than the traditional Negro jobs, in non-black banking and insurance institutions in the city. The retail trade reportedly did not deviate from the traditional practices. It was claimed that a few local outlets of a national chain store hired one or two black clerks. With this exception, as customary, blacks in large retail establishments were confined to menial jobs, shipping and delivery. The hotel and restaurant industry of Atlanta, where racial segregation,

by occupation, had long been common practice had similar existing situations. During that era with the exception of minor local variations, Atlanta's racial employment practices prevailed throughout the South.[1]

With Atlanta being considered as one of the South's most progressive cities, it still has much to be desired if held as an epitome of fair employment practices in relationship to the black man. It is quite evident that the majority of Negroes who are presently holding white-collar jobs, in industrial and commercial firms, in Atlanta broke through the traditional occupational color system within the past ten year period.

After much blood-shed and numerous civil rights demonstrations, in 1964 Congress enacted the most comprehensive piece of civil rights legislation ever proposed. "The new law was structured to insure maximum rights for Negroes in as many areas of public life as possible. Separate titles touched on voting, public accommodations, public-facilities, education, and fair employment practices."[2]

The hazards our world faces today are in large degree the result of the West's Own creations. Living and working conditions for black workers are worse than the rotten conditions faced by white workers. Blacks get the rawest deal. They are forced into the lowest paying, hardest jobs.

With enactment of the Civil Rights Law of 1964, and the black man's

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1 Ibid., pp. 24-27.

2 Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando, Civil Rights and the American Negro (New York: Trident Press, 1968), p. 525.

sincere cry of "before I'll be a slave I'll be buried in my grave" let us hope that men will review the dreadful aspects of the white man's past record, and thus be better prepared to recognize and resist totalitarianisms of the future before we destroy ourselves.

Theoretical Orientation.-- As a result of peculiar historical forces, the social system in which we live creates problems for black employees, which are not encountered by native whites and other groups in the population.

While both black entrepreneurs and professionals have been developed mainly under a segregated system, it is felt that they are now making strides in gaining entrance into the white-collar occupations. Such gains are being made under social, political, and economic pressures. Black functionaries are combating stereotyped images and breaking down barriers of racial injustices.

Jerome H. Holland, Ambassador of the United States to Sweden and former President of Hampton Institute, said that when a Negro employee is advanced, he often becomes the sole representative of his race in a previously all white area. According to him, sociologist Arthur Shostak explains too much is frequently required of a Negro in such situations. In his words, "a Negro 'pioneer' is expected to combine pride and humility, wisdom and receptiveness, strength and tolerance, soberness and humor, aggressiveness and patience, ambition and satisfaction, and all this simultaneously and in delicate balance. The job profile is unrealistic; the strain can prove too much for a mere mortal - regardless of his skin color."[1]

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[1]Jerome H. Holland, ed., op. cit., p. 130.

G. Franklin Edwards reports that it was not until after the Civil War that substantial numbers of professional functionaries among Negroes began to appear. "Their appearance was dependent upon the presence of a permissive educational climate and the development of Negro institutions of higher learning, which evolved chiefly from missionary and philanthropic efforts during the Reconstruction period."[1] He pointed out that even though Charles S. Johnson in his book, The Negro College Graduate, and Carter G. Woodson in his book, The Negro Professional Man and the Community, had noted the appearance of some professional functionaries in the pre-Civil War period, the number was very small and limited mainly to members of the free Negro population. While there were a few fields in which free Negroes could enter with a minimum of training, qualification for work in a professional field required more formal schooling.

Also it is pointed out that "Negro college and professional graduates did not number a thousand annually until the second decade of the present century."[2]

In general the occupational orientation of Negroes in the professional field has been concentrated in the old line professions such as--medicine, teaching, and the clergy. It is only in recent years that larger numbers have entered fields such as physical science research and the engineering professions. The same pattern of delayed entry into

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1 G. Franklin Edwards, The Negro Professional Class (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 23.

2 Ibid., p. 24.

white-collar occupations has prevailed, but at a slower pace.

"The migration of Negroes to the cities of the North and Border states during and following the first World War led to the formation of large Negro communities in these areas, increased the prospects for employment in industry, and created the economic base for the support of a substantial corps of professional functionaries."[1]

The urban migration particularly to metropolitan areas engendered social problems which eventually led to the formation of Civil Rights groups. These organizations, such as the NAACP and the Urban League can acclaim credit for some of the gains made by blacks in prestige occupations as they attempted to move upward in the social and economic system. For it is through the efforts and struggles of the Civil Rights Movement that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, making it possible to further increase the range of opportunities for blacks.

G. Franklin Edwards tells us that:

> The social structure of the mass society implies a pattern of stratification based on socioeconomic and political power and a system of invidious prestige values which are roughly uniform throughout the society. Insofar as regions and localities are economically, ecologically, and politically specialized, variations in the general pattern of stratification will appear; but they are to be understood precisely as variants of the general pattern.

The amorphous social structure in which blacks began the period of freedom, forced the rapid development of functionaries who had to meet the needs of a segregated community life. If a generation can be considered as approximately 30 years, then such a development has occurred within the relative short period, of little over three generations. The

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1 Ibid., p. 25.

writer's concern is focused around changes as related to blacks in occupational categories between 1966-1970.[1]

Review of the Literature.-- Examination of related literature as revealed in various publications seemed to indicate that a comparative study pertaining to white-collar blacks employed in Atlanta firms has not been undertaken since enactment of the Civil Rights Act. However, numerous studies concerning the black man's position in the labor market have been made.

Jerome H. Holland indicates that black employees in industry encounter personal and social problems which tend to make their working lives more complex. He reports that the personnel director of an airline remarked that black trainee stewardesses suddenly thrown into situations where they live, eat, room, and relax with white girls at the training Center, "are under a handicap in making a major social adjustment while, at the same time, trying to keep up with a rigorous five-week training schedule. They never have an opportunity to relax. They seem to feel that they must be on their best behavior at all times."[2]

Such behavior is explained by Erving Goffman in, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, when he states that:

> When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess, that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that in

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1 Ibid., p. 30.

2 Jerome H. Holland, op. cit., p. 130.

> general matters are what they appear to be. In line with this, there is the popular view that the individual offers his performance and puts on his show "for the benefit of other people."[1]

The white man has always depicted the black man in an ignorant, shiftless, happy-go-lucky manner, causing him, when given an opportunity, to underplay expressions of self-respect and intelligence.

Holland speaks about the new aspiration of the Negro as it relates to education, and feels that education is the current that will ultimately sweep black people into the mainstream of American life.

Nat Hentoff feels that poverty is at the very heart of the racial problem and that the Negro is at the very heart of poverty. He quotes John Fischer, editor of Harper's magazine:

> For the next inevitable objective is the full scale participation, on easy and equal terms, in the ordinary operations of American society. It will be won only when the Average Negro (not just the brilliant exception) is willingly accepted by the Average White (not just the self-conscious "liberal") as a reliable neighbor, a good colleague to have in the office or plant, a welcome addition to the local political club, bowling league, trade association and P. T. A. This obviously will mean the erosion of a lot of white prejudices; but it also demands some big changes in the habits, character and ambitions of a lot of Negroes.[2]

Herbert R. Northrup, Professor of Industry and Chairman, Department of Industry, Wharton School of Finances and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, places stress on race, indicating that racial factors are often disguised.

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1 Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959), p. 17.

2 Nat Hentoff, The New Equality (New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1964), p. 46.

According to him, "race adds problems and complexities all of its own which are occasionally obvious, but more often are intertwined with socio-economic and industrial factors, and may therefore tend to be somewhat obscure."[1]

Peter B. Doeringer, Professor of Economics, Howard University, states that "the definition of promotion units, transfer rights between units, promotion criteria, and patterns of hiring and assigning employees to units are used to limit, the Negro's advancement opportunity."[2] According to him racial discrimination in the promotion system can be divided into three broad catagories. The least common type consists of two functionally identical progression lines within a single department, one white and the other Negro. A more typical arrangement is that of restricting Negroes to the lower paying job classifications and progression lines within a department. The third type of discriminatory promotion system restricts Negroes to separate units such as labor pools, unskilled job classifications which are not connected to other promotion units or less desirable production departments.

Ulric Haynes, Jr., a business-oriented man and president of a firm of minority group employment consultants, Management Foundation subsidiary Spencer Stuart, in referring to equal job opportunity and the credibility gap says that "the gap lies between what business claims it is doing

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1 H. R. Northrup, "In-Plant Movement Of Negroes in Aerospace Industry," Monthly Labor Review, XCI (February, 1968), p. 22.

2 P. B. Doeringer, "Discriminatory Promotion System," Monthly Labor Review, XC (March, 1967), p. 27.

and what it is actually accomplishing to open up white-collar jobs."[1]

He feels that the most obvious company motive for undertaking an equal employment opportunity effort is the desire to comply with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. He also ranks keeping the good will of the public as a high rating factor of influence.

James W. Vander Zander feels that interracial contact has a number of limitations as a means of combating prejudice. According to him one of the most frequently encountered of these limitations is the failure of many individuals to generalize their favorable attitudes toward particular minority-group members so as to include the whole minority group. Which means that experiences acquired within one specific context are not carried over into other interracial situations. He cites the case where Harding and Hogrefe investigated the attitudes of white employees in a department store toward their black co-workers, for the purpose of determining whether or not the attitudes acquired within the one context would carry over into others. Two leading eastern department stores who had been employing blacks in white-collar positions participated in the study. The study revealed that equal status job contact produced a large increase in the willingness of the white employees to work with blacks on a equal basis. However, there was no significant change in their willingness to accept blacks in other relationships.[2]

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1 Ulric Haynes, Jr., "Equal Job Opportunity," Harvard Business Review, XLVI (May-June, 1968), p. 113.

2 James W. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations II (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1963), p. 231.

It is pointed out in Sales Management that hiring Negro salesmen has always presented a problem, and the approach of management has been slow and cautious. A huge gap exists between the number of black and non-black representatives in the sales field. "Many reasons are offered for this predicament, some valid, others specious, non-insurmountable, as the relatively few progressive firms accepting the challenge of hiring Negroes have found."[1]

In 1964, an article in Newsweek indicated that the outlook for College trained and skilled Negroes had never been so bright. However, it revealed that opportunities were by no means as wide open for blacks as they were for whites -- a bit of perspective which must be kept constantly in mind, but progress was projected as being definite and measurable.

This article also pointed out that growing numbers of companies were hiring Negroes for "sensitive" jobs involving contact with the public; which placed an accountant here, an engineer, a model and a salesman there; all not adding up to massive numbers to be sure. It quoted H. N. Arnold of the Atlanta Urban League as stating that "we're still talking in hundreds, not thousands."[2]

It appears as though industries are taking a better look at the Negro as a potential supervisor and Manager. One reason may be the growing shortage of a capable people, and still another which is equally important and pressing is the tenor of the times.

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1 "Negroes in Sales," Sales Management, February 15, 1968, p. 33.

2 "The Negro's Search for A Better Job," Newsweek, June 8, 1964, pp. 79-83.

However, there has been no tremendous change, but there is a bit of black in areas which were once pure white.

An article in Time magazine discusses complaints about refusal to promote or train because of color. It states that in discussing Negro employment and discrimination in industry, San Francisco Human Rights Commission Chairman William Becker insists that "the hard struggle is still for entry. Promotions are tomorrow's problems."[1] Even so, it was pointed out that tomorrows have a way of dawning fast. According to the article, in Boston, the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination heard eleven Negroes complain that General Motors had by-passed them and made junior white employees foremen in its Framingham, Massachusetts, Fisher Body Plant. And, in New York, fourteen Negro employees accused the Chase Manhattan Bank of discriminating against their advancement to computer training.

Civil rights experts maintained that Negro protests about promotions indicated a speedup in their desire for "upward mobility;" stating that in the past most well-positioned Negroes have been inclined to accept what they had without much complaint. It was citied that promotional discrimination is more difficult to spot than discrimination in hiring practices; therefore, complaints have been slow in accumulating. As pointed out by Campbell and Belcher in the 1967 winter issue of Phylon:

> The availability - or lack of availability - of employment opportunities for Negroes has received considerable attention in the last few years. "Jobs and Freedom Now" was one of the slogans of the August 1963, March on Washington. Picketing of construction sites protesting racial exclusion from union membership and employment, boycotts of selected

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1 "Tomorrow Becomes Yesterday," Time, December 8, 1967, pp. 99-100.

> companies, and sit-ins at banks and other business places have been among the more "active" emphases on employment. The formation of "Plans for Progress," the establishment of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and some of the activities of the United States Civil Rights Commission are among the governmental and quasi-governmental activities. Interest has also been reflected in written reports: newspaper and magazine articles, company publications, conference reports, monographs and books.[1]

However, the Social Security Bulletin states that Negroes continue to lag far behind white persons in both income and rate of employment. In addition to other problems, as related to employment, it reports that blacks have lately demonstrated an increasingly low propensity to move geographically, a tendency that is further weakening its already disadvantaged position in the labor force.

> Many of the moves Negroes do make are misdirected, at least from an economic standpoint. In many respects the Negro who relocates resembles the typical European emigrant of the last century: he usually gravitates to the ghetto of a large central city, frequently because relatives already live there; quite often he seeks not a better job, but merely the means of making a livelihood; and the job he obtains is usually a low-paying one for which the competition is nevertheless keen, thus making him a prime candidate for periodic unemployment.[2]

The Monthly Labor Review relates how the Automation Fund Committee undertook a special program to facilitate the adjustment of minority group members involved in job transfers to Worthington, Minnesota.

On June 1, 1964, in accordance with the collective bargaining agreement between Armour and Company and the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers Union, AFL - CIO, the Company issued a 90 days'

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1 Joel T. Campbell and Leon H. Belcher, "Changes in Nonwhite Employment," Phylon, XXXVIII (Winter, 1967), 325.

2 Robert E. Marsh, "Negro-white Differences in Geographic Mobility," Social Security Bulletin, XXX (May, 1967), 8.

advance notice that the slaughtering facilities at the Kansas City, Kansas plant would be closed on August 31, 1964. This action created the elimination of the jobs of about one-half of the approximately 1,900 workers in the bargaining unit. Notice was later given to the remaining workers that it would be necessary to terminate all employment in the plant as of the end of May, 1965.

> The application of provisions in the collective bargaining agreement about interplant transfer, separation pay, and pensions afforded substantial assistance to workers with at least one year of service in their adjustment to the plant closing. The successful effort to increase the number of workers taking interplant transfers raised questions of community relations and adequate housing, particularly as regards unionized Negroes from large urban centers moving into small all-white rural communities in areas that were not considered hospitable to unions.[1]

Through the efforts of the Automation Fund Committee the assimilation of the Negroes and workers of Spanish-American descent was accomplished successfully mainly because community leaders, including representatives of the newspaper, church, local government, business, and fraternal and social clubs created a community relations climate favorable to the integration of the newcomers into the life of the community.

Despite the general prosperity enjoyed today, Negroes are still confronted with numerous and complex in the labor market.

A review of the literature has shown differences in the occupational patterns of black and white workers in the labor market. Originally these differences reflected such overriding institutions as

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[1] James L. Stern, "Adjustment to Plant Closure; Cooperation for the Transfer of Negro Workers," Monthly Labor Review, XC (January, 1967),p. 42

slavery and later segregation. However, in recent decades, blacks have relocated to areas where the labor market has been less sharply differentiated on a racial basis. Moreover, there is much greater concern and efforts have been, and are being, made to open employment opportunities to blacks which have previously been barred.

While blacks have moved increasingly into high-level positions, specifically white-collar jobs, the review of the literature shows that blacks encounter personal and social problems which tend to make their working lives more complex than those of their white counter-parts. For example, white-collar jobs are limited to blacks. Data collection reveals that management is slow and cautious in hiring blacks in top ranking positions. Blacks are exposed to racial discrimination in training and in the promotion system. In addition to other obstacles confronting them the Average Negro is not willingly accepted by the Average White as a good colleague to have in the office or plant.

Data Collection.-- Every literate community has a considerable amount of statistical data available on the behavior of its members. Although these data have been accumulated primarily for purposes of administration and historical description, social science research can make good use of them. Failure to utilize such data often involves either a disregard of relevant information or, if the investigator laboriously collects data that already exist, a waste of effort.

> The range of subject matter covered in available records, and the treatment a subject receives in such records, varies with the administrative needs for which they were originally collected. Many available statistical data refer to socioeconomic attributes of individuals. Thus, the census of a population contains information about age, sex, family size, occupation, residence, etc. Health statistics give birth and death rates and

> the like; federal, state, municipal, and private economic institutions collect and publish data on wages, hours of work, productivity, absenteeism, strikes, financial transactions, and so on. Many voluntary organizations have records not only of their own membership but of groups of people whom they serve. In addition, a small but steadily increasing body of data is being collected by various institutions on the psychological level proper. For example, schools, hospitals, social service agencies, personnel departments in industry, and similar institutions nowadays frequently administer psychological tests of various kinds to their entire populations.[1]

In addition to economy, data collected in the course of such other activities have a number of advantages in social research. Including the fact that much information of this sort is collected periodically, thus making possible the establishment of trends over a period of time. The gathering of information from such sources is also advantageous in that it does not require the cooperation of the individuals about whom information is being sought. Furthermore, when such data are collected in the ordinary course of events, the measurement procedure is less likely to reveal the investigator's purpose or to change the behavior in which he is interested than are some of the other data - collection techniques.

Total and minority employment statistics for the Atlanta, Georgia, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) are used in this study. These statistics are compiled from the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO-1) Employer Information Reports required by law to be filed annually.

On July 2, 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed by Congress:

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[1] Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (rev. ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1959), pp. 316-17.

> To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.[1]

Title VII known as "Equal Employment Opportunity" is included in the Act. It prohibited discrimination by employers or unions with one hundred or more employees or member's during the Act's first year. Within a four-year period the number reduced to twenty-five or more employees or members.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Section 705 of Title VII, was established to investigate and mediate charges of discrimination in employment or employee organizations.

The Act empowered the Attorney General to sue in instances where a "pattern or practice" of resistance to the provisions of this title has been found.

The period July, 1964 - January 1966 was one of significant change in the area of civil rights, and high business activity in the United States.

Dramatic changes were occurring within firms. "White" or "Colored" signs designating water fountains and rest rooms were removed. Walls separating cafeterias for black and white workers were removed. Seniority systems and dual pay were abolished. Sports events and integrated parties were announced. And, numerous firms throughout the nation were

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[1] Alfred E. Cain, ed., The Winding Road To Freedom (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1966), p. 286.

hiring more blacks; placing them in responsible, white-collar jobs; and promoting them to managerial and supervisory positions.

Since the investigator is concerned with occupational patterns ensuing enforcement of Title VII, comparative data in the study reflects the last four year period (1966-70). The study also deals with firms having one hundred or more employees; since these firms have had better than five years to comply with the Civil Rights Act.

Prior to relating the findings of this study, so as to give a general overview of company executives' concerns in 1964, highlights from a study by The National Industrial Conference Board will be cited. The purpose of the study was to throw light on the following questions:

> How do top company executives view matters of Negro employment? What has been the experience of their companies in employing Negroes?

Highlights from the study indicated:

> It is misleading to speak of "The Negro Problem." It is more helpful to refer to specific problems of the Negro - his voting problem, his educational problem, his employment problem.
>
> The pressure on companies to employ Negroes developed "overnight." Many companies were not well prepared to meet it, and will continue to seek guidance for some time to come.
>
> Although business was good, relatively few workers, white or Negro, were added from 1964 to 1965 to the payrolls of the companies in this study.
>
> Executives are willing to move ahead and to "do something" about the problem of Negro employment - but feel it is impossible for them to move at the pace desired by Negro leaders.
>
> Company experience with Negro employment has been favorable. There have been fewer problems than expected with initiating and maintaining an integrated work force.
>
> There is a gap between company policy and practice in the area of Negro employment. Few of the companies studied are doing as well as they say they want to do or as well as

their top officers think they are doing.

Companies expect all job applicants to meet the same standards of selection. There is increasing interest in ways to measure the qualifications of applicants fairly and objectively.

If a Negro is qualified for his job and if he does it well, experience indicates that he probably will be accepted by those who work with him. But the acceptance may be limited to contacts within the company.

Negro workers wish to be regarded the same as everyone else. They do not wish to be treated more harshly or more indulgently than others.

Negroes, generally, still are being hired for the low-paying, low-status jobs. The number being employed for nontraditional jobs is small.

Well-qualified Negroes seem to be in short supply. Many companies say they would hire more Negro workers if they could find those able to meet their standards. Problems of training, upgrading, and advancement are of crucial importance today.

Negroes are average workers in most respects, but are rated somewhat low on promotability and on taking responsibility. Neither rating is regarded as evidence of an inherent deficiency or inferiority, and many observers expect that the Negro will improve his position in both areas as he gets more education and training and more experience in business.

Today it usually costs more to find qualified Negro workers, to train them, and to maintain them on the payroll than it does white workers.

The idea of quota employment - hiring a certain percentage of Negroes - enjoys little support in business. Executives, however, do speak of the goals their companies have set for employing Negroes.

In the past, many Negroes have been placed in jobs for which they were over-qualified. Now the opposite is occurring in some locations. Qualified observers say that neither practice is likely to advance the Negro cause.

In hiring a Negro from outside the community or in transferring a Negro from one town to another, it is important to consider matters of housing, schooling, and social opportunities in the locality in which he will work.

The new look in Negro employment is the selection of Negroes for company jobs formerly held by white workers. Companies report favorable experience with these appointments.

Some progress toward equal opportunity can be achieved through legislation. The rest depends upon education and upon the voluntary efforts of all persons involved.

Companies that have made most progress in employing Negroes report that a strong written policy statement on

equal opportunity is needed to attract qualified applicants; also a vigorous and sustained program of affirmative action, and adequate control to check on and insure achievement of the company's intent.

All of the programs studied by the Board that appear to be effective have one thing in common: a chief executive determined that the program produce results, and willing to commit himself to its success for an indefinite period of time.[1]

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[1] The National Industrial Conference Board, Company Experience With Negro Employment (New York, N. Y., 1966), pp. 10-12.

CHAPTER II

FINDINGS

Atlanta, "the city with the forward look," still lags in solving the problem of unemployed and underemployed blacks. A review of existing studies by the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission studies suggests, in all instances, that blacks in Atlanta are subject to serious under-utilization in the more desirable occupational categories.

White-Collar.-- Data collected during 1966 by EEOC which is not reflected in Table 1 show blacks comprise 15.2 per cent of Atlanta's work force, but only 2.3 per cent of the white collar segment. It also reveals that of the 34,000 blacks who held jobs in 1966 only 2,460 were in white collar positions, refer to Table 1. More striking is the observation that among 106,859 white collar positions, 104,399 or 98 per cent were held by whites. We may further observe from Table 1 that there was an increase of 52,638 positions occurring between the years 1966 - 1970. Of this total (159,497) the distribution along racial lines does not differ significantly from that of 1966 in absolute terms. Whites occupied 149,442 or 94 per cent of the positions as compared with 9,176 or 6 per cent of the positions occupied by blacks. The 1966 EEOC report does not analyze the data by sex. However, the 1970 report gives the race and sex data. Black females fared slightly better than their male counterpart in 1970. The data reveal that out of a total of 67,687 positions, 5,587 or 9 per cent were held by black females as

TABLE 1

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS FOR THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX 1966 AND 1970*

1970				Per Cent		
Total Employed		All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	159,497	149,442	9,176	94.0	6.0	100.0
Male	91,810	87,626	3,589	95.0	5.0	100.0
Female	67,687	61,816	5,587	91.0	9.0	100.0
1966						
Total	106,859	104,399	2,460	98.0	2.0	100.0
Difference 1966 - 1970						
Total	+52,638	+45,043	+6,716	+43.0	+273.0	49.0

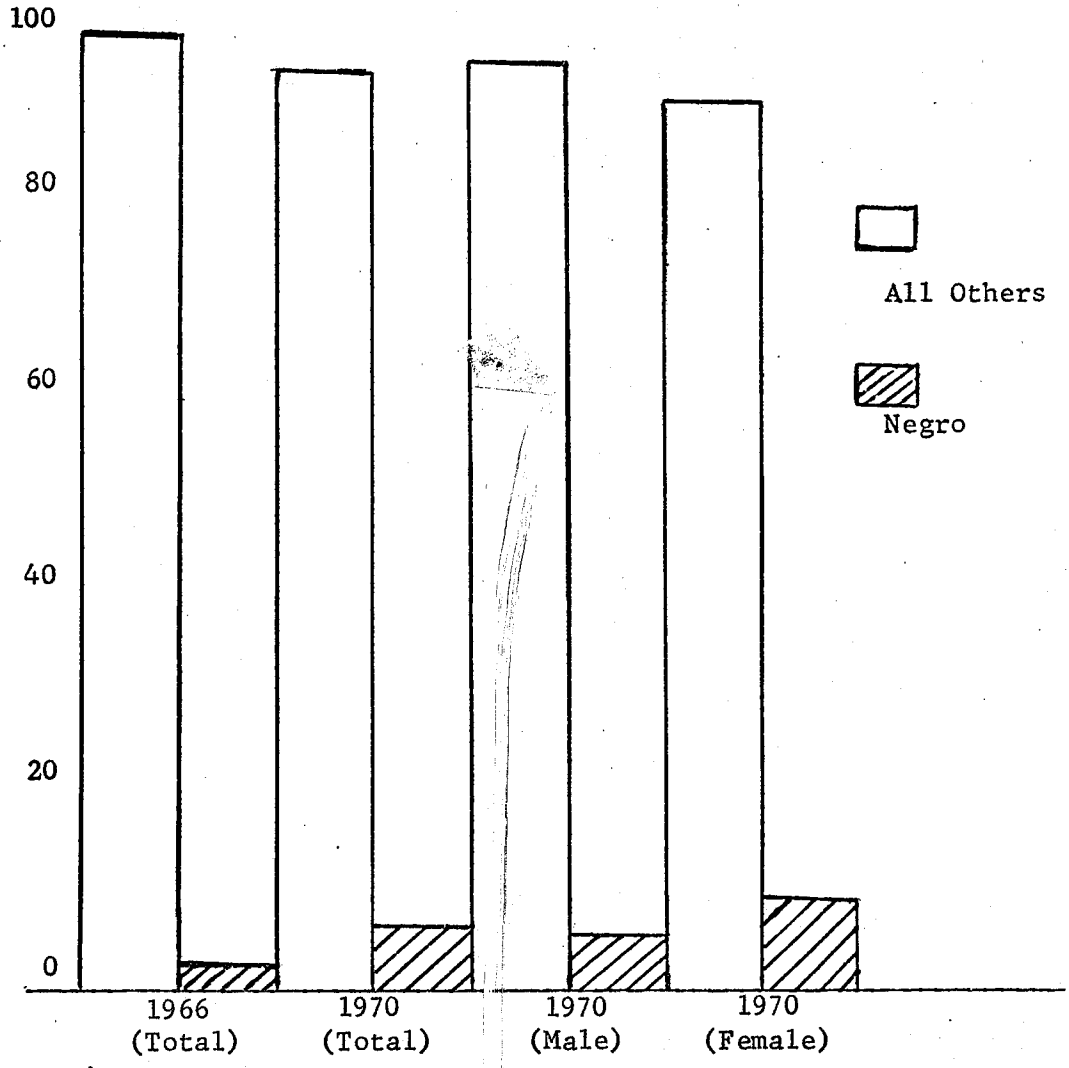
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

compared with 3,589 or 5 per cent for black males.

When one further examines the differences in the 1966 and 1970 data one will note that there was an increase of 52,638 or 49 per cent in the white collar category. Of this total 45,043 were among whites and 6,716 black. The increase of blacks from a number of 2,460 in 1966 to 9,176 in 1970 represents an increase of 6,716 or 49 per cent. Whereas the statistics reveal an increase of 273 per cent it should not be interpreted as an indicator of non-discrimination in industry. However, the data does suggest that some compliance is being made on the part of employing black white collar workers.

FIGURE 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK WHITE COLLAR WORKERS FOR THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 1.

TABLE 2

OFFICE MANAGERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA BY RACE AND SEX*

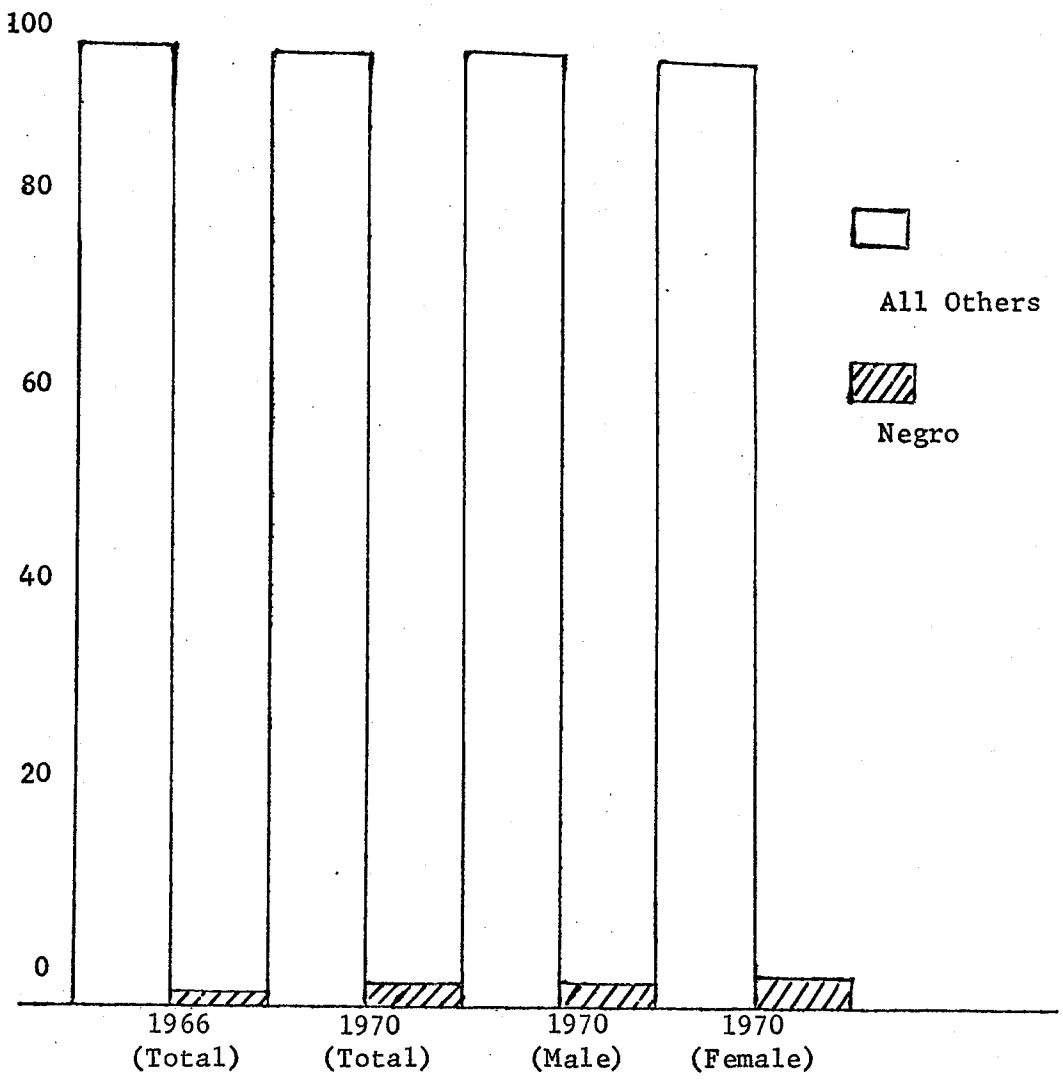
1970				Per Cent		
Total Employed		All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	29,283	28,667	539	98.0	2.0	100.0
Male	26,547	26,016	459	98.0	2.0	100.0
Female	2,736	2,651	80	97.0	3.0	100.0
1966						
Total	18,962	18,794	168	99.0	1.0	100.0
Difference 1966 - 1970						
Total	+10,321	+9,873	+371	53.0	221.0	54.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

Office Managers.-- This occupational category, by tradition, has not been open to blacks to any degree of significance. Table 2 indicates that there were a total of 18,962 persons in this category in 1966. Of this number, 18,794 or 99 per cent were white and 168 or one per cent were black. The 1970 EEOC report reveals an increase of 10,321 individuals in this category. This numerical increase indicates that new jobs in this category was in excess of 50 per cent. When analyzed for racial differences one finds a very rigid pattern as far as it concerns the entry of blacks in this category. Of the 29,283 persons in this occupational category, 28,667 or 98 per cent are white with the

FIGURE 2

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK OFFICE MANAGERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 2.

remaining 539 or 2 per cent being black.

The increase for this four year period follows the same patterns. Of the 10,321 new positions created, 9,873 are white and 371 are black. The per cent of increase reflects a gain of 53 per cent for whites and 221 per cent for blacks. This finding may be misleading to some but in instances where blacks have been traditionally excluded a very small numerical increase will reflect an unusually large percentage increase. Therefore, the use of absolute numbers for comparative purposes is more applicable in this case.

When race and sex are taken into consideration, the configuration does not change. The data for 1970 reveal that there are 26,547 males and 2,736 females in this category. The black distribution reveals a total of 459 males and 80 females. Thus, it is obvious that this occupational category discriminates against females as well as blacks.

Professional Workers.-- Professional workers, as an occupational category, reflect considerable growth over the past decade. The data for 1966 reveal a total of 11,658 in this occupational category with whites representing 11,537 positions and 121 for blacks. This represents an almost total exclusion of blacks in this category for their representation represents only one per cent. Further, the data for 1970 reveal a total of 22,872 which is an increase of 11,214 or 96 per cent. The white increase represented a total of 10,624 or a 92 per cent increase whereas the black increase was 398 or 329 per cent.

An analysis of the data by race and sex reveal that of the total 22,872 positions in this category white males represent 18,803 positions and white females represent 3,358 positions. This is of significance

TABLE 3

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX 1966 AND 1970*

	1970			Per Cent		
	Total Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	22,872	22,161	519	97.0	3.0	100.0
Male	19,263	18,803	291	98.0	2.0	100.0
Female	3,609	3,358	228	93.0	7.0	100.0
	1966					
Total	11,658	11,537	121	99.0	1.0	100.0
	Difference 1966 - 1970					
Total	+11,214	+10,624	+398	92.0	329.0	96.0

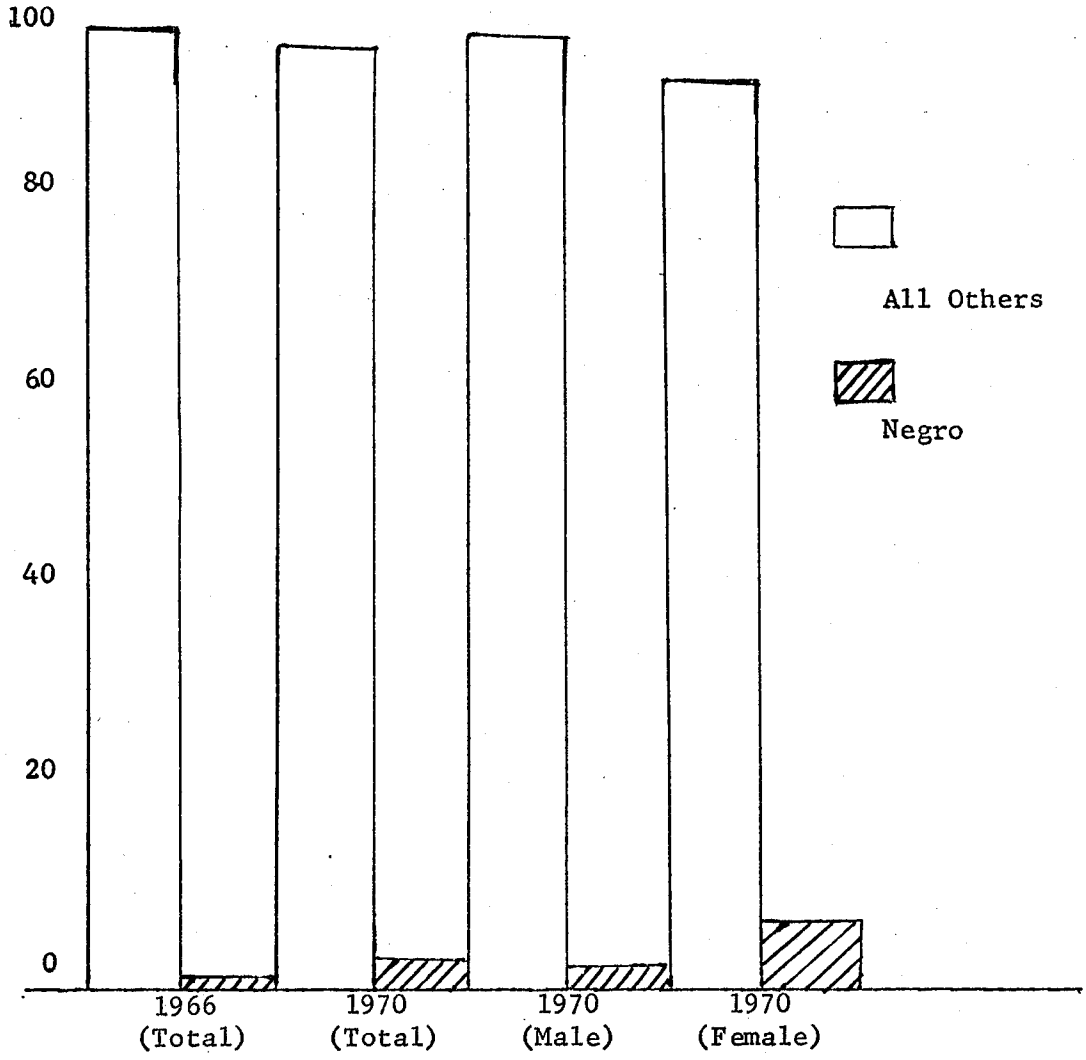
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

when one observes that black males represent only 291 positions and black females 228. The representation of black males and females in this category is two and seven per cent respectively. Black males and females do not differ significantly in gaining access to this occupational category but the fact that they are grossly under-represented further illustrate the discriminatory pattern of employment. White females are under-represented also but not to the extent of the black population as a whole. White females occupy 3,358 positions in comparison to a total of 519 positions for the black population.

Technicians.-- The occupational category of technicians is

FIGURE 3

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK PROFESSIONAL WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 3.

TABLE 4

TECHNICIANS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

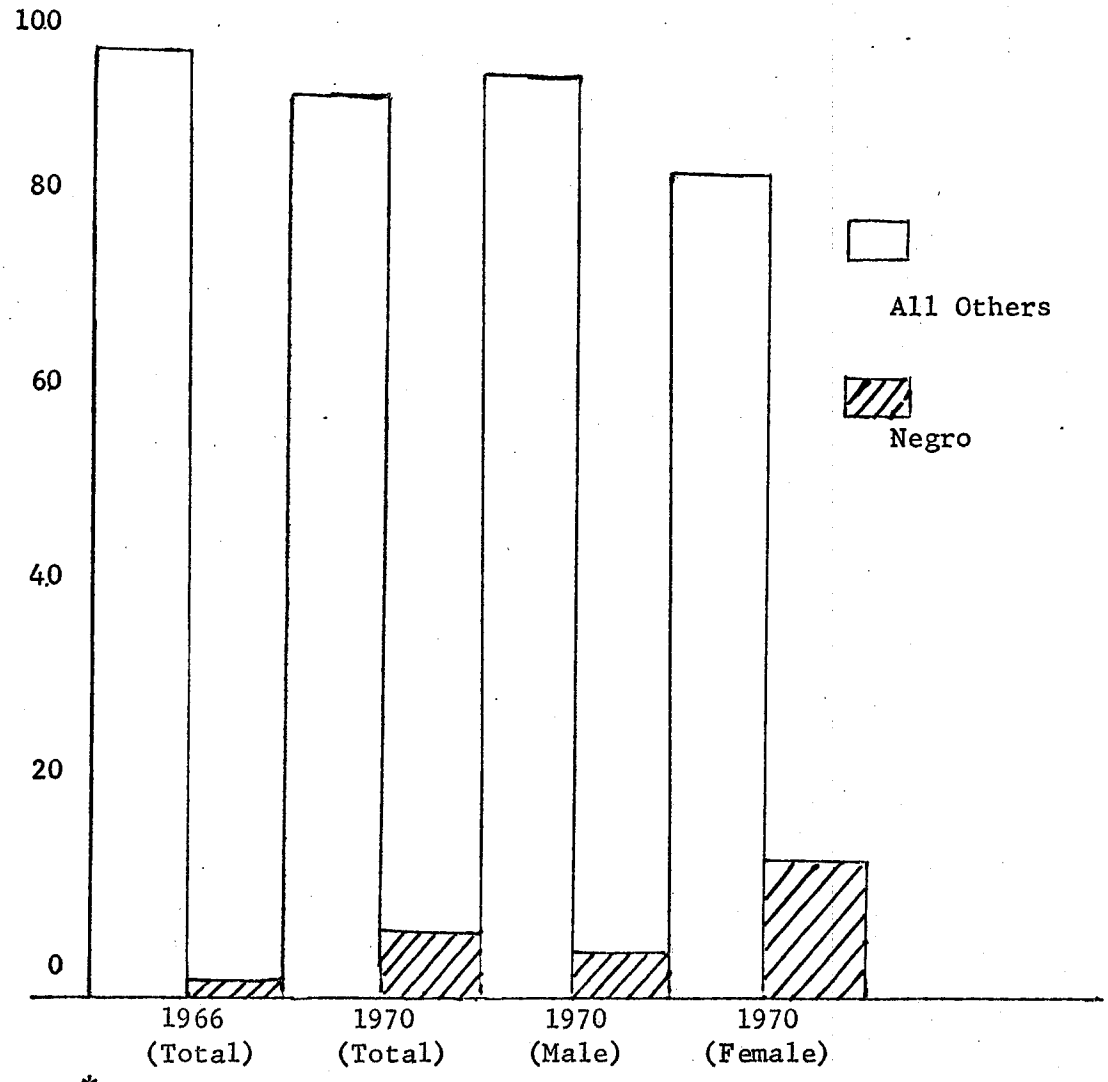
1970				Per Cent		
Total Employed		All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	8,934	8,307	511	93.0	7.0	100.0
Male	7,300	6,926	268	95.0	5.0	100.0
Female	1,634	1,381	243	85.0	15.0	100.0
1966						
Total	5,794	5,665	129	98.0	2.0	100.0
Difference 1966 - 1970						
Total	+3,140	+2,642	+382	47.0	296.0	54.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

representative of the category previously discussed with reference to the participation of blacks in the labor force. The data from the EEOC study of 1966 reveal that 5,794 persons were employed in this category. Of this number, 5,665 or 98 per cent were white as compared with 129 or 2 per cent black. The data for 1970 indicate an increase of 3,140 or 54 per cent. Of this increase 2,642 are white and 382 are black. The 1970 data indicate that there are a total of 8,934 persons employed as Technicians. Of this number, 8,307 as white and 511 are black. In this instance the white percentage is 93 and the black percentage is seven.

FIGURE 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK TECHNICIANS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 4.

TABLE 5

SALES WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

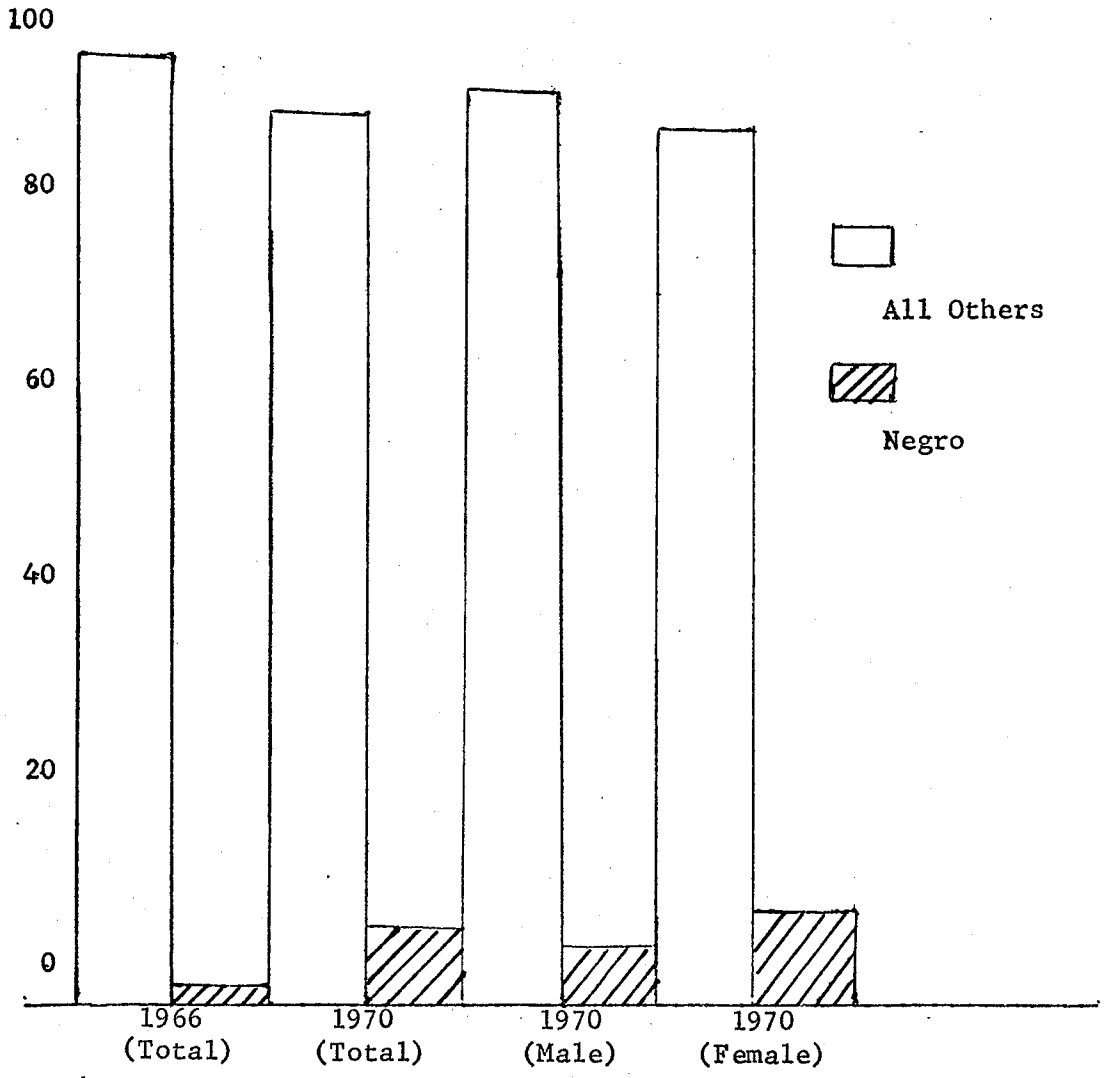
	1970			Per Cent		
	Total Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	37,697	34,799	2,767	92.0	8.0	100.0
Male	22,855	21,492	1,255	94.0	6.0	100.0
Female	14,842	13,287	1,512	90.0	10.0	100.0
			1966			
Total	21,933	21,420	513	98.0	2.0	100.0
			Difference 1966 - 1970			
Total	+15,764	+13,379	+2,254	62.0	439.0	26.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

Sales Workers.-- A significant growth has occurred in the sales occupation within the last few years. Table 5 indicates that 21,933 persons held jobs in this category in 1966. Of this number, 21,420 or 98 per cent were white and 513 or 2 per cent were black. The 1970 EEOC report reveals a total of 37,697 individuals which is an increase of 15,764. The white increase represented a total of 13,379 or 62 per cent whereas the black increase was 2,254 or 439 per cent. Race and sex data reflect that out of a total of 37,697 job slots white males occupy 21,492 and white females 13,287. Black males occupy 1,255 of these job slots, and black females occupy 1,512. While blacks have made advances

FIGURE 5

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK SALES WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 5.

TABLE 6

CLERICAL WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

	1970			Per Cent		
	Total Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	60,711	55,528	4,840	92.0	8.0	100.0
Male	15,845	14,389	1,316	91.0	9.0	100.0
Female	44,866	41,139	3,524	92.0	8.0	100.0
	1966					
Total	48,512	46,983	1,529	97.0	3.0	100.0
	Difference 1966 - 1970					
Total	+12,199	+ 8,545	+3,311	18.0	217.0	25.0

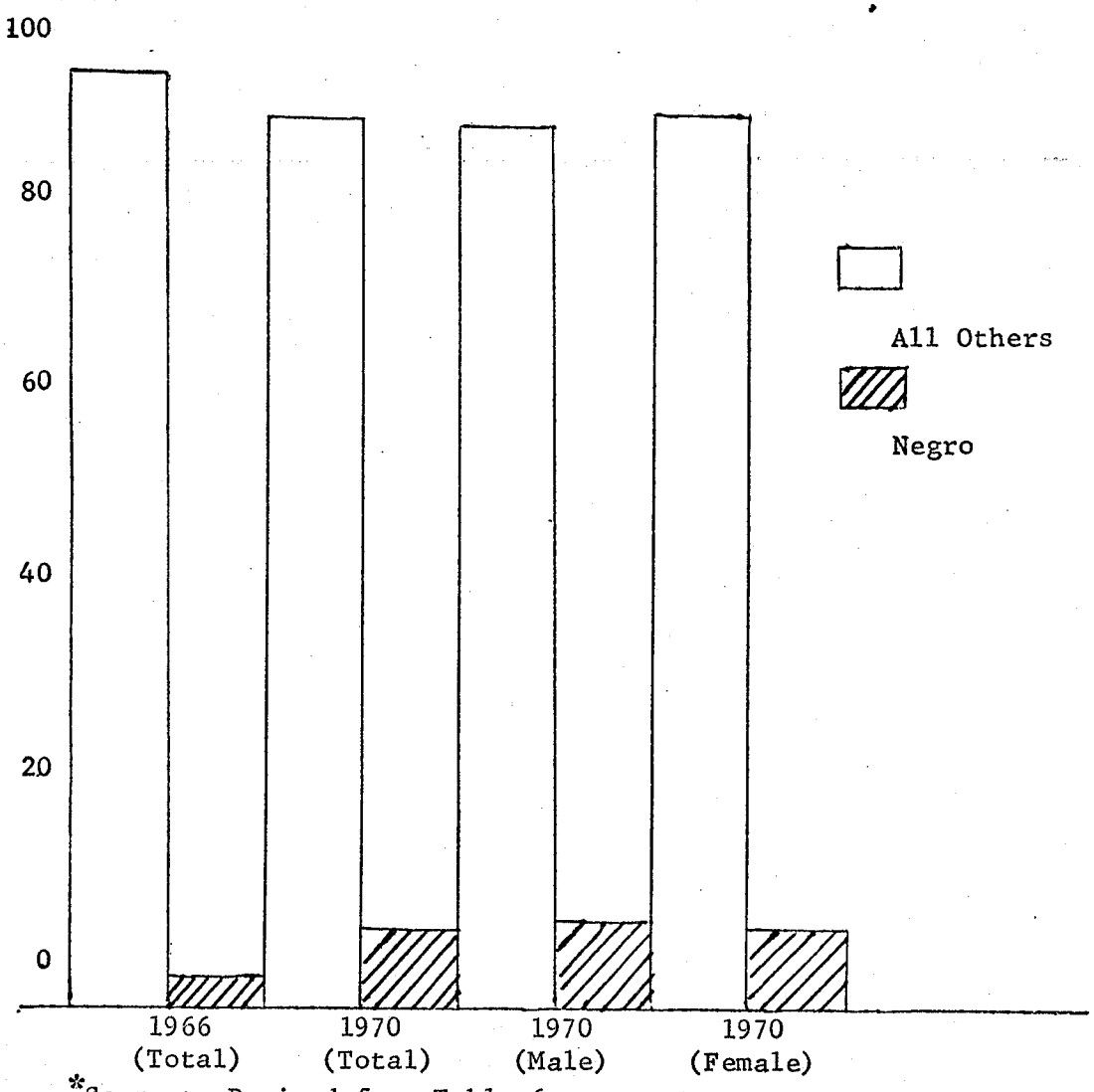
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

in the sales occupation it is obvious that discrimination prevails.

Clerical Workers.-- The occupational category of clerical workers is representative of the traditional labor force pattern; blacks still linger behind whites. The data from the EEOC study of 1966 indicate that 48,512 persons were employed in this category. Of this number, 1,529 or 3 per cent were black as compared with 46,983 or 97 per cent white. 1970 facts show an increase of 12,199 or 25 per cent. Of this increase 8,545 are white and 3,311 are black. An analysis of the data by race and sex indicates that of the total 60,711 job slots in this occupation white males occupy 14,389 positions and white females occupy 41,139 positions. Discrimination is obvious when one observes that

FIGURE 6

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK CLERICAL WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 6.

TABLE 7

BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA BY RACE AND SEX*

1970				Per Cent		
Total Employed		All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	117,415	87,424	29,626	75.0	25.0	100.0
Male	98,584	75,095	23,230	76.0	24.0	100.0
Female	18,831	12,329	6,396	66.0	34.0	100.0
1966						
Total	114,162	83,000	31,162	73.0	27.0	100.0
Difference 1966 - 1970						
Total	+3,253	+4,424	-1,536	5.0	-5.0	3.0

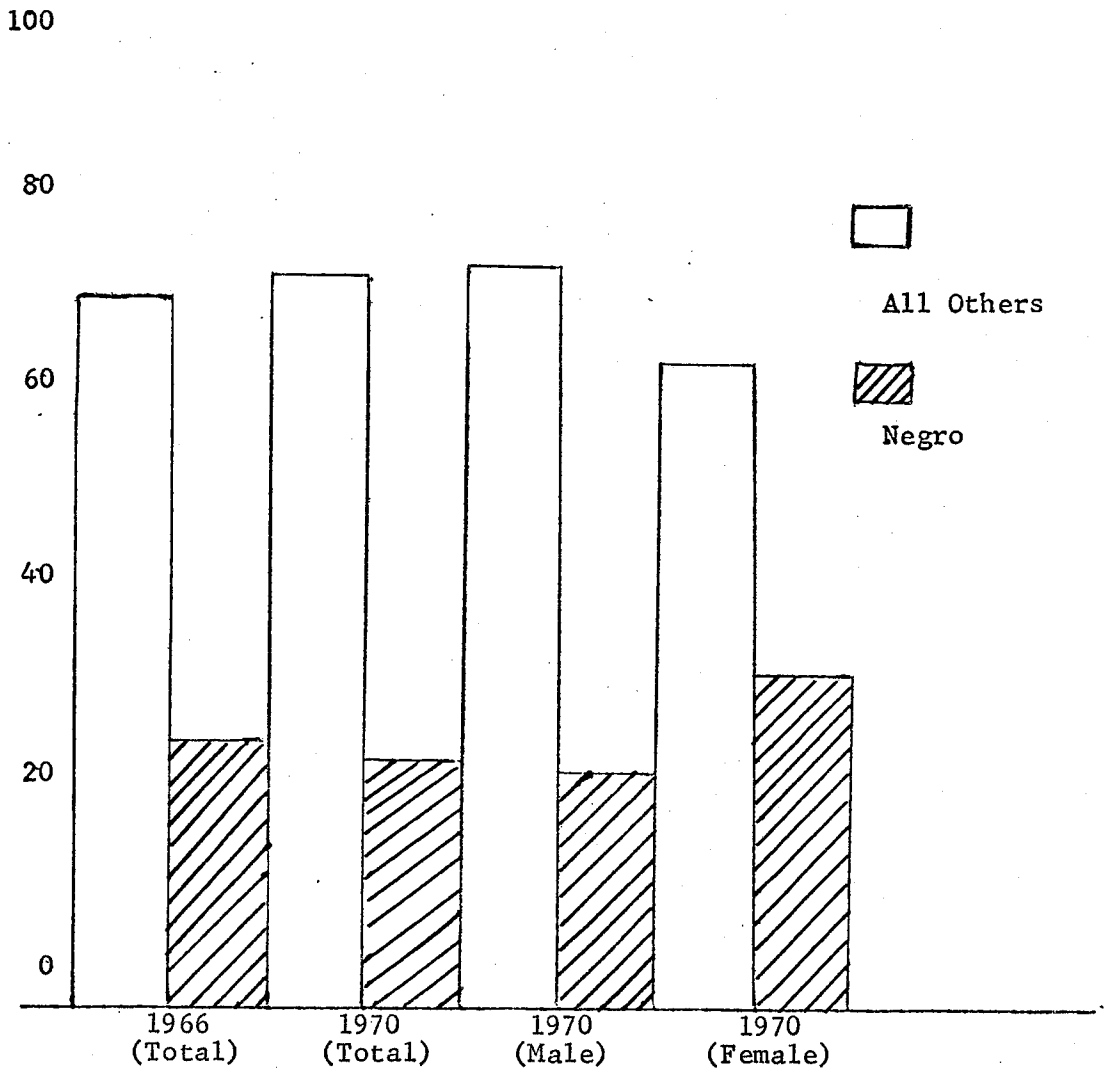
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

only 1,316 black males and 3,524 black females occupy such positions.

Blue-Collar.-- Table 7 reveals a total of 114,162 blue-collar jobs in Atlanta, Georgia SMSA in 1966. Whites held 83,000 or 73 per cent of these positions as compared with 31,162 or 27 per cent held by blacks. Further observation of Table 7 shows that there was an increase of 3,253 positions occurring between the years of 1966 - 1970. Of this total (117,415) no significant change has been noted in the distribution along racial lines from that of 1966. Whites occupied 87,424 or 75 per cent of the positions as compared with 29,626 or 25 per cent of the positions occupied by blacks. The 1966 EEOC report does not analyze

FIGURE 7

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 7.

TABLE 8

CRAFTSMEN IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

	1970			Per Cent		
	Total Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	37,953	35,083	2,781	92.0	8.0	100.0
Male	36,300	33,690	2,523	93.0	7.0	100.0
Female	1,653	1,393	258	84.0	16.0	100.0
	1966					
Total	27,248	25,504	1,744	94.0	6.0	100.0
	Difference 1966 - 1970					
Total	+10,705	+9,579	+1,037	38.0	59.0	39.0

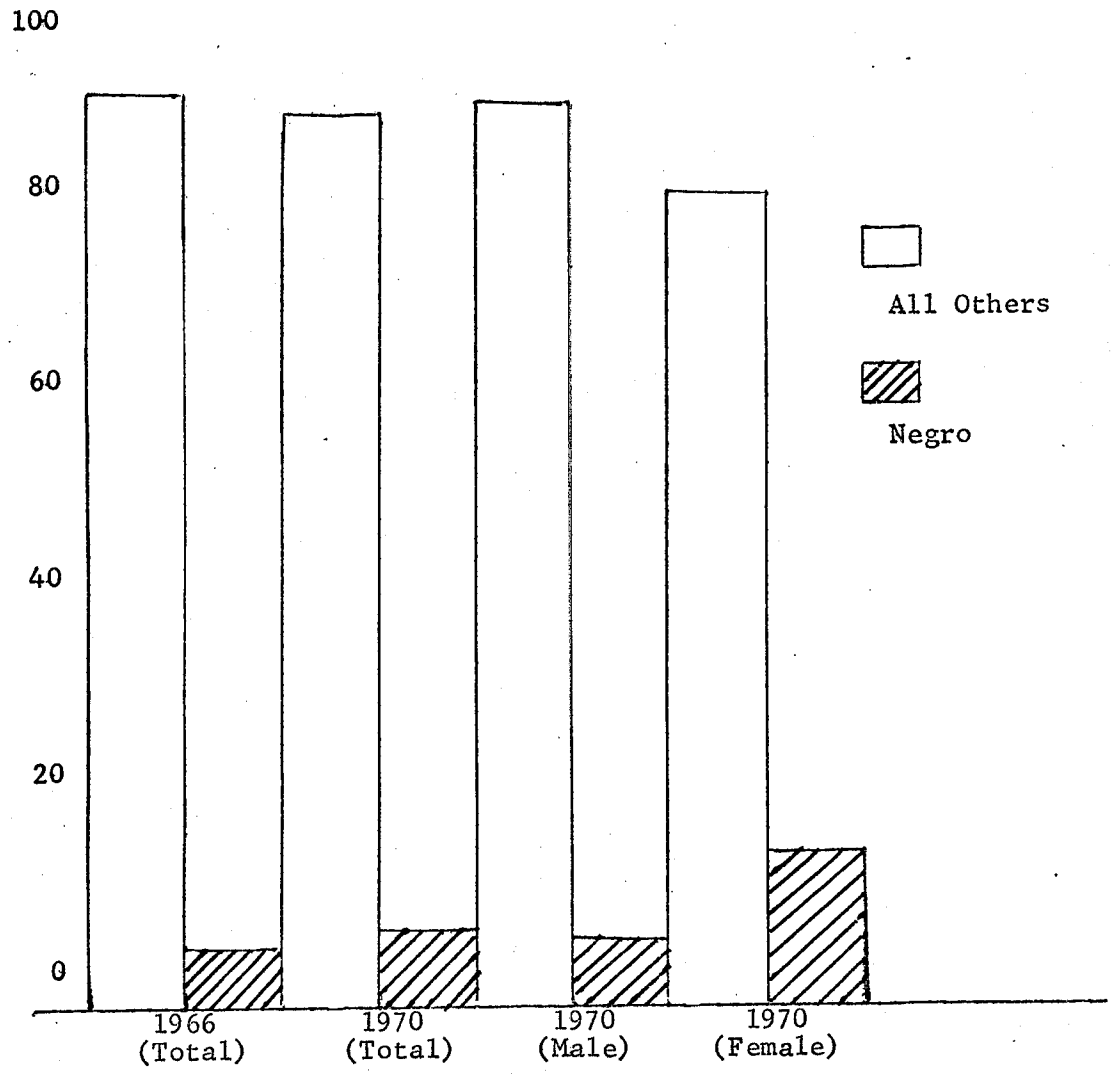
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

the data by sex. However, the 1970 report gives the race and sex data. An examination of this data indicates that white males occupy 75,095 positions and white females occupy 12,329 positions. Whereas, black males occupy 23,230 positions and black females occupy 6,396 positions.

Craftsmen.-- This occupational category increased by 10,705 job slots between the years of 1966, 1970. However, Table 8 shows there was a total of 27,248 craftsmen in 1966. Of this number, 25,504 or 94 per cent were white. The 1970 EEOC report reveals a total of 37,953 such positions. Whites are employed in 35,083 or 92 per cent of these positions as compared with 2,781 or 8 per cent black. Consequently, Table

FIGURE 8

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK CRAFTSMEN IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 8.

TABLE 9

OPERATIVES IN THE ATLANTA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

1970				Per Cent		
Total	Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	56,137	41,956	13,978	75.0	25.0	100.0
Male	45,047	34,224	10,703	76.0	24.0	100.0
Female	11,090	7,732	3,275	70.0	30.0	100.0
Total	47,472	37,138	10,334	78.0	22.0	100.0
Total	8,665	4,818	3,644	13.0	35.0	18.0

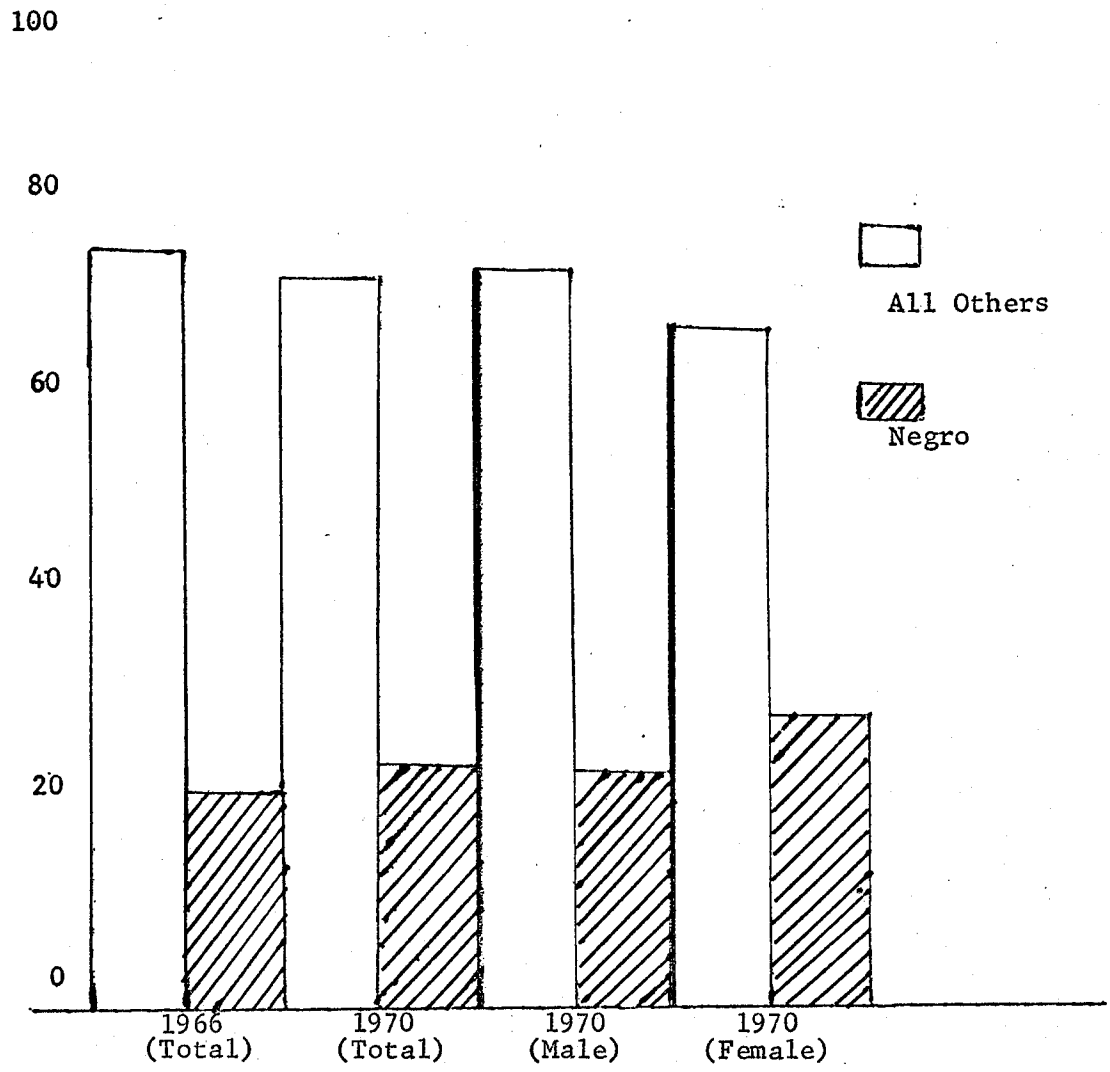
*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

8 discloses that whites are still in control of the major portion of all leading trades, and crafts.

Operatives.-- Table 9 clearly reflects an increase of 8,665 for operatives during the period 1966 - 1970. Further data from the EEOC study as of 1966 indicate that 47,472 persons were employed in this category. Of this number 37,138 or 78 per cent were white as compared with 10,334 or 22 per cent black. 1970 data reveal a total of 56,137 employees occupying such positions. Of this number 41,956 or 75 per cent are white, in comparison with 13,978 or 25 per cent blacks. As disclosed in Table 9, white male occupies a majority position of 34,224, whereas his black counterpart has a lesser position of 10,703. Whereas

FIGURE 9

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK OPERATIVES IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 9.

TABLE 10

LABORERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

1970				Per Cent		
Total	Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	23,325	10,385	12,867	45.0	55.0	100.0
Male	17,237	7,181	10,004	42.0	58.0	100.0
Female	6,088	3,204	2,863	53.0	47.0	100.0
Total	20,032	10,123	9,909	51.0	49.0	100.0
Total	+3,293	+ 262	+2,958	3.0	30.0	16.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

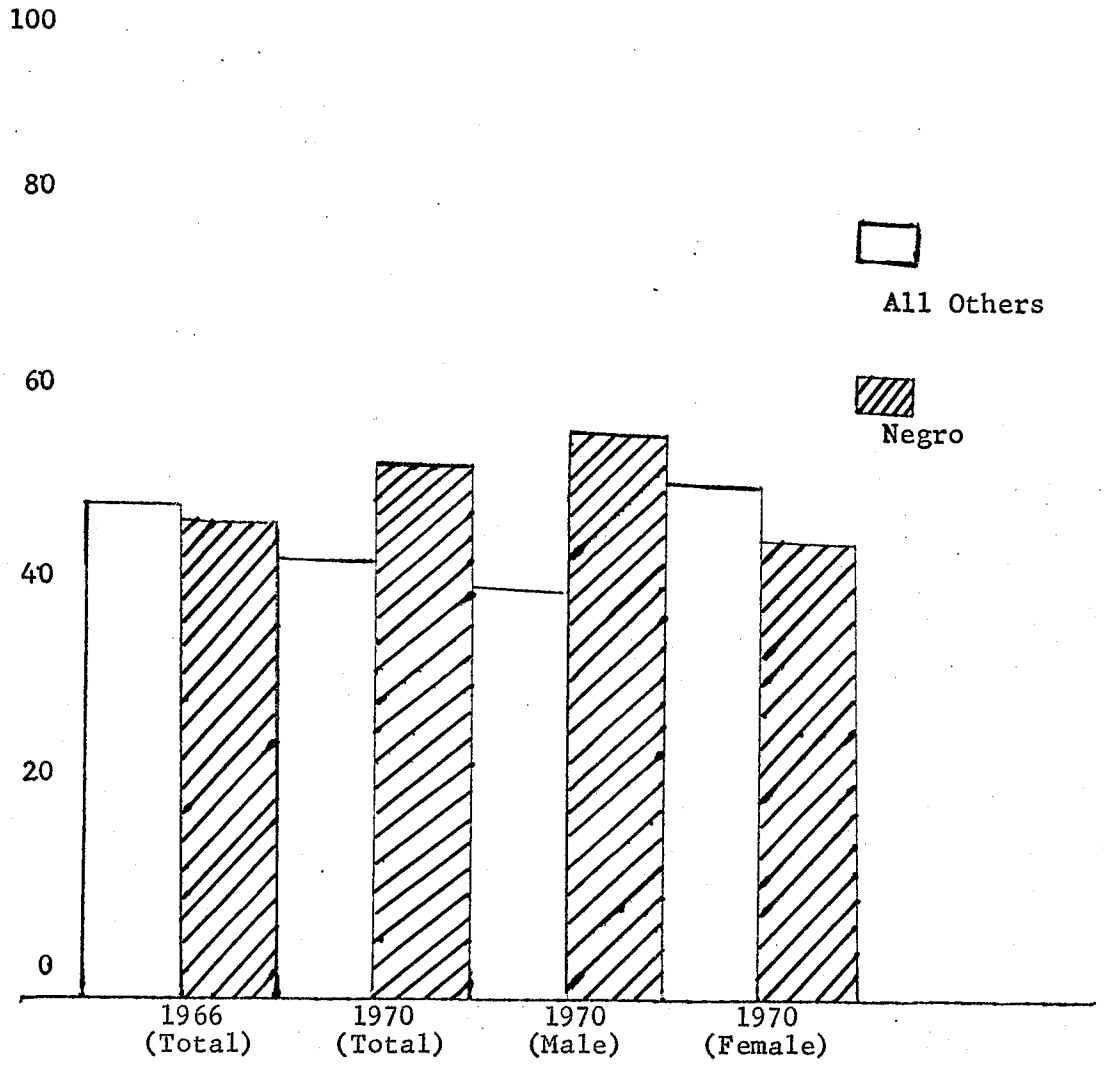
the white female occupies a ranking position of 7,732, as opposed to the black female position of 3,275. In summary thereof the white female and male both hold ranking status.

Laborers.-- Obviously one would suspect that blacks would represent a significant representation within the laborer area of employment. However, Table 10 does in fact disclose that the white male has a lesser position which is in the sum of 7,181, as opposed to his black counterpart with a leading and ranking position of 10,004. Further the situation is in reverse in regarding the white females position which is in the sum of 3,204, as opposed to her black counterpart in the sum of 2,863.

Service Workers.-- Of all the occupational areas of employment

FIGURE 10

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK LABORERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 10.

TABLE 11

SERVICE WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA
BY RACE AND SEX*

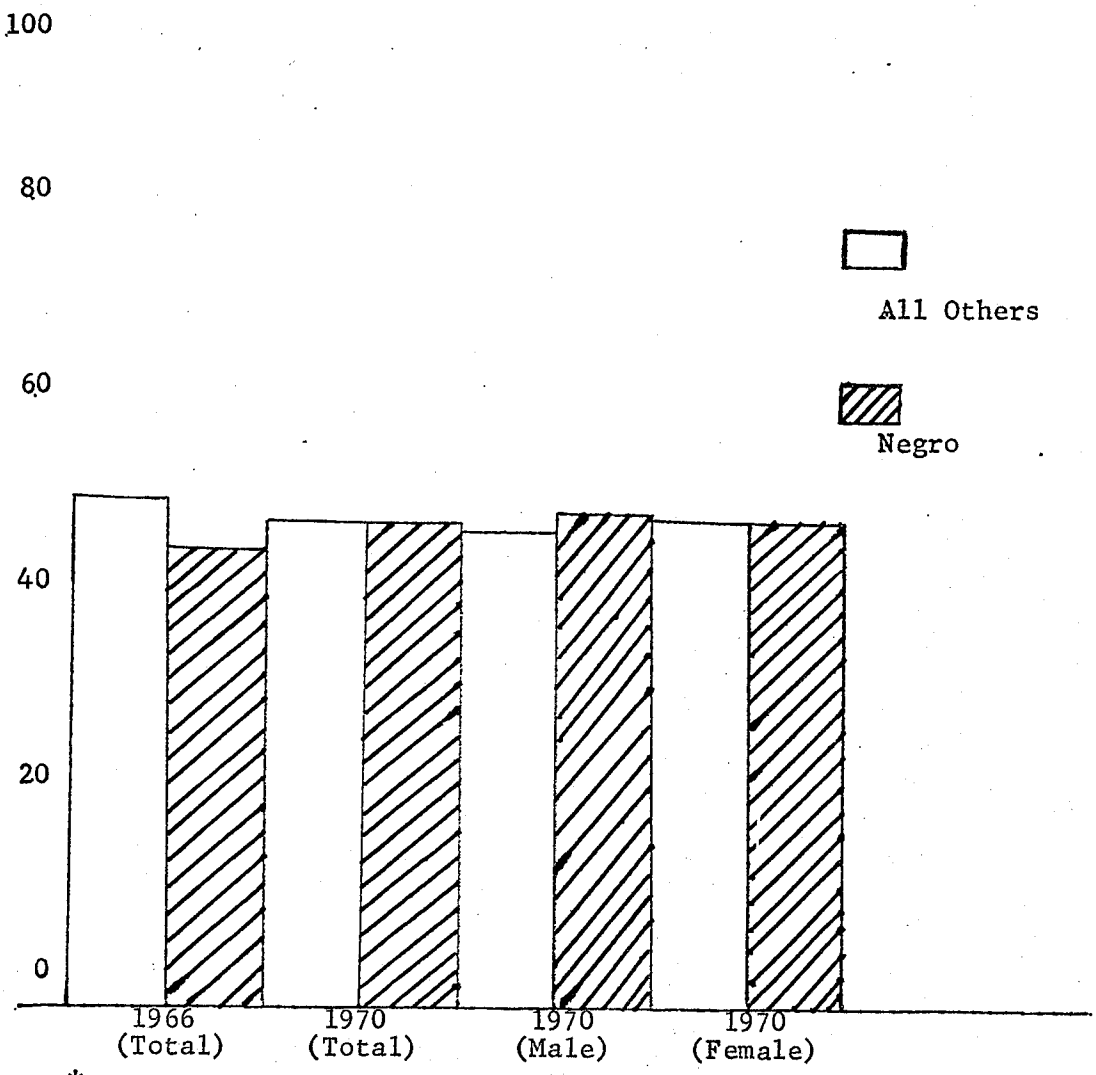
1970				Per Cent		
Total	Employed	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro	Total
Total	20,260	10,064	10,076	50.0	50.0	100.0
Male	10,383	5,099	5,201	49.0	51.0	100.0
Female	9,877	4,965	4,875	50.0	50.0	100.0
1966						
Total	19,410	10,235	9,175	53.0	50.0	100.0
Difference 1966 - 1970						
Total	+850	-171	+901	-2.0	10.0	4.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

service workers category represents more of an equitable distribution of both white and black groups of employment. Specifically black male service workers represent the grand sum of 5,201 as contrast with his black counterpart's sum of 5,099. Further the white female service worker occupies a leading position of 4,965 as opposed to her black counterpart with a lesser position of 4,875. Certainly one could easily determine as before mentioned, and Table 11 supports that equal employment in the service workers category reflects a light of reality.

FIGURE 11

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK SERVICE WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA 1966 AND 1970*



*Source: Derived from Table 11.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY

Companies with five (5) years experience (1966 - 1970) in employing blacks speak of them as average workers, the same as anyone else. They minimize the fear and worry that some companies entertain as they prepare to integrate their organizations or to promote a black employee to a position of responsibility for the first time.

However, an overall glance of Table 12, and the EEOC report for the period 1966 and ending 1970 discloses a remarkable increase in decision making positions for blacks. Specifically, the six occupational categories represent the grand sum of 213,718, of which blacks represent only 4,920 said positions. Further, those positions represent a percentile of only two (2) per cent. However, for the year of 1970 the total six occupational categories represent the amount of 318,994, of that sum black representation was in the sum of 18,352 with the corresponding percentile of five (5) per cent. Furthermore, there was a 380 per cent increase in those category positions in the ending year of 1970 as opposed to the base year of 1966 pertaining to black employment.

Occupational categories as reflected in Table 13 between the years 1966 and 1970, and supported by the EEOC reports clearly indicate that the increase in said categories was only 26,776. Whereas, of said increase 7,004 new positions were awarded to blacks. Consequently, it is rather apparent and clear in Table 13 that black employees have made

TABLE 12

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR SELECTED GROUPS, BY RACE, IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA FOR 1966 - 1970*

Occupational Category	Total Employed		All Others		Negro		Numerical Increase		Per Cent Increase	
	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro
White Collar	106,859	159,497	104,399	149,442	2,460	9,176	45,033	6,716	43.0	273.0
Office Managers	18,962	29,283	18,794	28,667	168	539	9,873	371	53.0	221.0
Professional Workers	11,658	22,872	11,537	22,161	121	519	10,624	398	92.0	329.0
Technicians	5,794	8,934	5,665	8,307	129	511	2,642	382	47.0	296.0
Sales Workers	21,933	37,697	21,420	34,799	513	2,767	13,379	2,254	62.0	439.0
Clerical Workers	48,512	60,711	46,983	55,528	1,529	4,840	8,545	3,311	18.0	217.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

TABLE 13

CHANGES IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR SELECTED GROUPS, BY RACE, IN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA SMSA FOR 1966 - 1967*

Occupational Category	Total Employed		All Others		Negro		Numerical Increase		Per Cent Increase	
	1966	1970	1966	1970	1966	1970	All Others	Negro	All Others	Negro
Blue Collar	114,162	117,415	83,000	87,424	31,162	29,626	4,424	-1,536	5.0	-5.0
Craftsmen	27,248	37,953	25,504	35,083	1,744	2,781	9,579	1,037	38.0	59.0
Operatives	47,472	56,137	37,138	41,956	10,334	13,978	4,818	3,644	13.0	35.0
Laborers	20,032	23,325	10,123	10,385	9,909	12,867	262	2,958	3.0	30.0
Service Workers	19,410	20,260	10,235	10,064	9,175	10,076	-171	901	-2.0	10.0

*EEOC Reports dated 1966 and 1970.

significant gains for the period under consideration.

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